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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 839

July 25, 1952

FOURPENCE

DOCTORS AND SCIENTISTS PROTEST AT

USE OF NAPALM BOMB

"We are burning people alive in Korea"

The ten pastors of Duisburg
"THIS IS REBELLION"

— German President

TEN pastors of the Evangelical Church at Duisburg, Germany, have recently issued an appeal to all men in the city between 18 and 38, asking them to put their names on one of two lists, the first consisting of those who would refuse military service under any circumstances, and the second of those who would refuse such service until a peace treaty has been concluded with the whole of Germany.

All signatories will receive a certificate. Dr. Ehlers, President of the Federal German Parliament, has made it known that he regards the pastors' action as an "open incitement to rebellion against law and order."

Where East and West agree

Obviously, he says, the pastors were not prepared to take the motives of their fellow Christians seriously nor the need to avoid any pressure on people's consciences in either direction.

He further accuses them of using the Church as tools in a political action. It is interesting to note that for once Dr. Ehlers seems to be in agreement with Herr Grotewohl, the Prime Minister of Eastern Germany, who has announced that the act introducing conscription in Eastern Germany will contain a clause to the effect that those who profess a conscientious objection to military service will be punished as "enemies" of the peace.

2,000 at Manchester hear facts about THE WORLD FOOD CRISIS

By MARGARET TIMS

SPEAKING in Manchester at the inaugural meeting of the Association for World Peace campaign for "War on Want" on Sunday, Mr. Victor Gollancz, founder of the Association, declared himself "quite definitely and finally" a pacifist.

Also on the platform, in the chaste beauty of the reconstructed Free Trade Hall, were Sir Richard Acland and two Lancashire MPs—Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Leslie Hale, the Chairman.

There was an enthusiastic audience of over 2,000 people, and the sense of the meeting was certainly with the Chairman when he remarked that "nobody on this platform regards peace as a naughty word."

The speakers were united in stressing the need for this campaign because it was right as well as expedient, and in urging individual action and responsibility. Financial support from the meeting, in cash and promised donations, amounted to over £160.

Harold Wilson dealt with the facts of world poverty and the necessity for an all-out declaration of war on want.

If nothing was done, before the end of the present century the world would be facing a crisis by starvation.

The world population was increasing every two weeks by a number equal to the total population of Manchester: every 3 seconds there were 2 more mouths to feed. To meet this demand, food production must not only equal but exceed this rate, in order to raise the living standards in backward countries and slow down the increase of population.

In 3 seconds: 2 more mouths

Britain would be amongst the first to suffer from a world food shortage, of which there were already signs of meatless days in the Argentine and threats to import food by countries like Australia and New Zealand.

But the most important reason for the campaign was the contribution it would make to the maintenance of world peace. The danger to peace could not be explained away by making a political scapegoat.

"If every Communist was converted to a belief in democracy," said Mr. Wilson, "the dangers to world peace would not disappear as long as thousands of millions are fighting for their right to live. Every £ or dollar spent on increasing world food production is a far better guarantee of peace than £s and dollars spent on tanks and aircraft."

Development schemes had already been started through the UN agencies, in British Colonial schemes and in the Colombo Plan for S.E. Asia, but in order to attack hunger the area of cultivable land and the yield per acre must be increased, and even to begin the task would require a sum of £500m. a year. This could be done through an international authority under the UN with the powers, finance, staff and enthusiasm to do the job. Britain should take the lead in appealing to all nations to set aside say 10 per cent. of their defence expenditure in 1952-53 for the purpose of world development.

Appeal to the Labour Party

Mr. Wilson appealed to the Labour Party to carry the fight against poverty to the ends of the earth.

"This I believe to be the mission for Britain in the second half of the 20th century, the only way to give 1,500m people the chance to live, and the only road to lasting peace."

Sir Richard Acland urged a new spirit of personal responsibility and readiness to make sacrifices for our poorer neighbours. "It is always more palatable to have fair shares with those who are richer than with those who are poorer than ourselves."

It must be made quite clear, he said, that "this war is not on our want but on somebody else's."

We were all partly to blame for the miserable state of the world and we must all show repentance—"the first word in the Christian message and also the first step in waging this war on want."

We must also work harder and plan our industrial and economic resources in the same way as they were planned for a shooting war.

"It will need a tremendous moral and spiritual effort on the part of the British people," he said, "if Britain is to play her

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THIS MEETING DEPLORES THE USE OF THE NAPALM BOMB BY THE UNITED NATIONS FORCES IN KOREA AND URGES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO DECLARE ITSELF OPPOSED TO ITS EMPLOYMENT.

SUCH was the resolution proposed by Dr. Leys, Chairman of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, at the close of a meeting organised jointly by Science for Peace and the Medical Association for the Prevention of War in London last week, and carried unanimously.

Reginald Thompson, former war correspondent in Korea for the Daily Telegraph, gave the meeting a vivid description of the Inchon landing; of the sense of enormous power going out, nothing coming back; there was no anti-aircraft, nothing that a soldier could call resistance.

Of the napalm (petrol jelly) bomb he said: "You just went and deluged people with this stuff." The enemy were "gooks," they were not really people.

It was his first experience of the "atom mind" which destroyed indiscriminately. The city of Seoul was one-third destroyed, and three-quarters of the people were either killed or had taken to the hills.

For what are we fighting?

He spoke of their intense relief when in September, 1950, the UN forces reached the 39th Parallel. Then came the command "On, to the Yalu river." Every intelligent soldier and war correspondent knew that this would involve the Chinese in the war. He, himself, cabled home to say so. But apparently MacArthur thought otherwise, and the war continued.

"No one has told me what the object of the United Nations has been since 1950," he added.

"Use the atom bomb"

Describing the long and dreadful retreat that later followed, "with a terror stricken army of demoralised troops" he recalled how one morning at 5 a.m. they reached Pyongyang. "It seemed to us that the end of the world had come." Then came the news that the atom bomb was to be dropped on China. (This was in November, 1950, about the time that Mr. Attlee flew to America.) From every side despairing voices cried: "Yes, use it, use it."

"At that moment," he said, "I realised that Hiroshima and Nagasaki had put an end to the old adventure and strategy of war. If war spreads it will be an atom bomb war, and this island cannot survive it."

When I returned to England I was told that I was too late: we were already a satellite state; the die was cast. All my experience has borne this out. The press of this country has accepted the position.

Britain could save the world

"Nevertheless," he continued, amidst great applause, "if we were masters of ourselves I believe we could save the world. I believe we are the only people who can."

"The British Commonwealth has within it many Asiatics and they still trust us. India longs, I believe, to be the bringer of peace. If she dared she would make a gesture. But she knows that one in four of her people are doomed to die of starvation."

This week-end...

The Friends' World Conference, plans for which were described in an article by Bernard Canter in Peace News of June 27, opens at Oxford.

Friends all over the world, not only conference delegates, have been meeting in study groups for the past 18 months to consider the subjects on the agenda, and their findings will be submitted to the Conference.

The International Council of the War Resisters' International will be meeting at Braziers Park near Oxford. It is anticipated that all members of Council (or their deputies) will be present, so that the meeting will be really representative of the movement throughout the world. We hope to be able to print a full report in the next issue of Peace News.

tion if the food ships are stopped, and she looks to Britain to give a lead.

Reginald Thompson appealed to the audience to let the government know that they would back it in any courageous course that would "help India to make the bridge between East and West."

He continued: "On this island there are at least 50 atom bombs. We as a nation have no control of their leaving this island, yet their doing so would rebound on us. We could not survive it. I have seen Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and I know."

"There is no way out," he concluded amid overwhelming applause, "except the absolute denial of war as a political weapon."

Dr. M. M. Tempest, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and specialist in Plastic Surgery, said, "It is clear to us in the medical profession that 'burns' are on the agenda of any future war."

He spoke of the research in weapons at present being carried out. Napalm had been a development of peace-time—it had

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CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS REVEAL

Labour anxiety over American domination

THE resolutions submitted for the agenda of the Labour Party Conference to be held at Morecambe from Sept. 29 to Oct. 3 provide a striking contrast with agendas of the past.

Considerably more than half are concerned with matters bearing on foreign and colonial policy.

The Party seems now to have come to a full realisation that it is futile to construct social policies in a national framework while war threatens the world.

Disquietude as to the dominant influence of America over British policy shows itself in a number of different sections of the agenda.

Even under the heading of Party Organisation there is a resolution from Eton and Slough calling for "unity between the democratic Socialist Parties of the world against both Russian and American power blocs," while under "New programme" Wallend calls for the creation in the Commonwealth and Sterling Area of "a 'centre' economic block in no way tied to the strings of the USA or the USSR."

Surrey Federation also calls for a policy "subordinate to neither of the power blocs" and Lambeth and Vauxhall urge that the foreign policy should be "tied to neither America nor Russia."

Aylesbury sets out a policy involving a reduction of the rearmament programme which should be undertaken "even if it involves the risk of American displeasure," while Barrow calls for "freedom to trade in international markets without conditions."

In the section dealing with "Mutual Aid" Kirkcaldy calls for "the immediate termination of American economic and political interference in this country," while South East Cardiff want an "independent British foreign policy, free from domination by any foreign country."

South Wembley expresses a similar sentiment while Cardiff condemns the Party pamphlet "The Problems of Foreign Policy" because it "assumes as a basic pre-requisite of a Socialist foreign policy that the USA must be induced to play a still greater military role in Western Europe, the Middle and Far East."

South Hammersmith speaks of a "foreign policy that is now being dictated by the United States of America" and Southport says that "the present close identification of the foreign policies of

(Continued on page eight)

IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE



Alex Comfort speaking at the Peace Pledge Union's Trafalgar Square meeting on July 16. With him on the plinth are, left to right: Stuart Morris, Gen. Sec. of the PPU; Mr. and Mrs. Sam Walsh; Emrys Hughes, MP; Sybil Morrison, National Chairman, PPU; Victor Yates, MP; Robert Horniman and Mona Bentin. A digest of Alex Comfort's speech appears on page 3. Photo: P. Querinci.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

25th July, 1952.

FUTILE GOOD INTENTIONS

IN a statement entitled "Towards World Plenty" issued this week for the consideration of the Labour Party Conference, the Party Executive sets out the problem of the under-developed countries.

It is an admirable statement, embodying much of the material presented in Mr. Michael Young's Discussion Pamphlet "50,000,000 Unemployed," and in the various publications sponsored by Sir Richard Acland and his colleagues in the Association for World Peace.

Although it is a valuable presentation of the problem, when it comes to propounding the means for dealing with the ills it describes, it is practically useless.

It gives its backing to the proposal for an International Development Agency, now under consideration by the United Nations, which it is proposed should dispose of a fund increasing up to \$3,000m. a year. It remarks that "a starting point of 1,000 million dollars has been suggested, but a useful beginning could be made with less."

Now it is estimated by UN economists that to produce a 2 per cent increase in the standard of living in the under-developed countries would require goods and services equivalent to the sum of £3,500,000,000. The peak objective of the proposed international fund is 3,000 million dollars.

We do not seek to obscure the fact that the larger sum includes investments whereas the proposed International Development Agency Fund relates to money to be disbursed as grants.

The comments we have to make, however, apply almost as forcibly to an investment fund as to a fund for grants. Even so, there are two points that should be noted in regard to these two sets of figures.

The first is that the larger one does not cure hunger and illiteracy, it merely makes a very modest—a 2 per cent—contribution toward that end; and it simply has the effect of preventing a widening of the gap between the under-developed and the developed countries.

The second point is that the \$1,000m. proposed for the Development Agency (and in regard to which the Labour Party document opines "a useful beginning could be made with less") represents about 4s. 8d. per head of the underfed and undertaught population of the world.

And where is this money to come from? Well, it would need "the support of most of the developed countries and in particular of the United States."

As long as the present bi-partisan armaments and foreign policies are followed the money will not be there. It is about time the Labour Party began to formulate some policy that did not depend "in particular" upon the USA.

The money could be there—our part of it—if we had not to pursue an armaments policy that would meet the plans of the USA for Europe.

Since World War II the Labour Party has been joined with the Conservative Party in fostering the illusion that Great Britain can be a Great Power in the sense in which we used the term in the early years of the century.

The economic circumstances that made it possible no longer obtain; and the more we seek to act upon this illusion the more we shall emphasize our growing subordination to the USA.

Where we are getting to in this respect may be measured by a comment in the Observer's leading article of July 20:

"It is precisely as a member of the Atlantic Community that Britain is of practical value to the Commonwealth and Asian countries. It is only in this rôle that she can enlist American support for protecting and developing these lands. It is only in this rôle that she can hope to secure essential American co-operation in implementing the Colombo Plan and raising the standard of living in underdeveloped parts of Asia and Africa. (Our emphasis.)"

The new rôle is the Great Suppliant. In the true sense of leadership, however, Great Britain has it within her power to become a greater influence in the world than ever before.

If she were to decide to relieve herself of the armaments burden and to use the released resources for initiating, and immediately acting upon, measures for ending hunger and illiteracy in the world she could bring hope where now catastrophe threatens, and if, as it may be, catastrophe should prove unavoidable, she would at least be facing it with some nobility of spirit.

We say "No"

IT now appears that the Government will ask Parliament to ratify the Contractual Agreement with Germany and the European Defence Treaty in the closing days of the present session.

The Labour Party is in the usual dilemma because it will not face the fundamentals of its foreign policy.

Anxious not to appear to defy America, bound to some degree by the acceptance of a bi-partisan foreign policy while in Office, still bemused by the need for supporting the rearmament drive, Mr. Attlee and his chief lieutenants stand out against the demand of an increasing section of the Parliamentary Party who want to oppose German rearmament unequivocally.

The result is a compromise which will claim that ratification is inopportune and should await the fulfillment of the so-called Attlee conditions. These were:

That German recruitment should be delayed until the Atlantic Pact countries had built up their forces;

That those countries should have prior claim on American equipment;

That German forces should not form a national army but be part of an international army; and

That German rearmament should not begin until the Germans themselves had approved it.

It may well be that these conditions cannot now be met, and that if ratification is made conditional on their fulfilment it is as good as postponing it *sine die*.

But the Contractual Agreement will be as inopportune under any circumstances as it is today, and the Labour Party would serve its own interests best, as well as those of peace, if it came out—without qualification—against ratification, and divided the House on that issue.

We hope that all those who regard this as a matter of principle will still feel it necessary to secure as large a vote as possible for the refusal of ratification under any circumstances. The result would be bound to influence opinion in America, as well as in Germany and France.

Not more than ten days remain for focussing public opinion on this vital issue and we hope that every reader of Peace News will inform his MP by interview or letter that if he is to represent the real opinion of this country he must vote against ratification.

In Germany

IN the meantime the Soviet reply to the latest Western note is awaited.

Dr. Adenauer has appealed for a constructive reply at the same time as he made clear that the Bonn Government regards itself as entitled to be consulted—if no more—on any agreement between East and West.

The accusation that under the policy of the Western powers Nazi influence has not been eradicated as agreed at Potsdam is justified by the report of the parliamentary sub-committee in Bonn which has recommended that four senior officials of the West German foreign office should be dismissed because of their activities when the Nazis were in power. A spokesman of the West German foreign office has stated that of 542 senior officials 184 were members of the Nazi Party and 153 of the old German foreign office.

The failure of the negotiations between the Bonn Government and the Federation of Trades Unions has also increased the tension in West Germany.

The unions are not satisfied with the draft Works Council Bill, and demand the extension of the principle of co-determination to all industries and public services. The Unions may well resume strike action, and thus add to the Government's difficulties in securing ratification.

Doctor Niemoeller has warned the World Assembly of the International Missionary Council of the widening of the gulf between Church and State in East Germany.

One school of thought favours the separation of Church and State (as in Russia and Hungary), another their integration as in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Dr. Niemoeller made it clear that in his view no one in a police state is able to tell the whole truth any more than he had been able to do under the Nazis, and that the more Christian Churches concerned themselves with the social and political implications of the Gospel the more dangerous they would appear in the eyes of the state.

Is this defence?

THE debate in the House of Commons and the preparations for the recent civil defence exercises centring on Clapham Junction are enlightening.

The exercise was planned on the assumption that a bomb equalling 20,000 tons of T.N.T. had been exploded at a height of 700 feet. The estimate of casualties out of a population of 115,000 was 16,000 killed and 13,000 seriously wounded; 18,000 homes destroyed, 23,500 seriously damaged; 50,000 less seriously and up to 150,000 houses over a wide area affected; 200,000 people "on the roads" of whom 90,000 need help; and 1,000 fires.

There is therefore, no suggestion that defence means protection from an atomic bomb. The most the scheme expects to do is to attend to the wounded, put out some of the fires and prevent panic.

So far so good—but turn to the debate in the Commons.

So little was there any serious concern with defence that the Speaker would not call the amendment of Emrys Hughes who asked that our risks might be lessened by an agreement to

remove the American air bases, and through a new British initiative to secure disarmament. Nor were the Government prepared to find the money to "provide any form of shelter that would give full protection in the area immediately below the atomic burst." The cost was prohibitive!

Whether the Government can secure enough volunteers for an effective organisation to lessen the worst affects of atomic bombing or not, it makes nonsense of the English language to call their plan "civil defence."

It may well be that the lack of recruits, which has created a situation which is regarded as "dangerous," is due to the realisation of the public that they are not being asked to prepare to defend themselves, that the Government is not ready to provide as adequate shelters as possible, and that the dangerous situation is the result of a misguided foreign policy.

Far better for the Government to recognise that if they are concerned to provide civil defence they would do better to spend their time and energy on removing the possibility of atomic attack, not only by asking the Americans to go home, not only by helping to achieve the abolition of atomic warfare, but more especially by taking the initiative in securing general disarmament—if necessary by unilateral action—and by refusing to contemplate war under any circumstances as a legitimate method of foreign policy.

No truce yet

THE truce talks in Korea still continue.

It is to be regretted that, when every word and deed of any military or political leader must influence the critical situation, Mr. Acheson is openly sceptical about the Peking government's recognition of the Geneva Convention on germ and gas warfare and the rights of prisoners, and that Admiral Fechteler has again talked about the extension of the war to China by means of naval action under certain circumstances.

We wish that the Olympic Truce might apply to all soldiers and politicians and that they would refrain from provocative statements.

That hope of a truce still remains is indicated by a recent pronouncement from New Delhi, which has explained that India is not playing the part of a mediator (that situation has not yet arisen) but of a friend who wishes to help both sides to arrive at an agreement.

The Indian Government emphasises the fact that many obstacles have been overcome, and that though the recent mass bombings did mean a set back to the efforts, further possibilities continued to be explored and that it is their hope that a way out will be found.

But why the incomprehensible delay in appointing the British Deputy to General Clark? Is he making difficulties?

Liberation

JOHAN Foster Dulles stated that in his view so far as the foreign policy of the Republicans and the Democrats in the USA was concerned "liberation against containment would be the No. 1 issue."

Is this meant to be an explanation of the sentence in the Republican statement to which Peace News referred last week: in "the negative, futile and immoral, policy of containment."

Does his reference to the "abandonment of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland and Czechoslovakia in the face of Communist aggression" mean that it is the intention of the Republicans to liberate these countries—and, if so, how?

Does Eisenhower's conception of the second crusade to which he has dedicated himself mean that the rest of Europe is to be liberated by the same means and at the same cost as the first?

If so, we suggest that those whose liberation is planned should be asked if they wish to be liberated at that price.

But, talking of liberation, the result of a preliminary analysis of the hundreds of pages of documents, based largely on the evidence of escaped prisoners, put in as evidence to a special UN committee of enquiry shows that there are some 442 forced labour camps with a population of some 1,255,500 persons in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

It is stated that the inmates consist chiefly of the dissident elements of the community, saboteurs and repatriated persons, and the account in the evidence shows that their living conditions and diet are deplorable.

The full report should be ready for the General Assembly in October and may do much to clarify the position with regard to the forced labour camps.

If these ugly facts are established, it still remains true that a war of liberation is no solution. Forced labour camps are partly the result of the general fear and tension caused by the rivalry of East and West.

Such camps have existed prior to the advent of Communism, whenever a dissident minority was thought to threaten the security of the state, and while not condoning in any way such grave infringements of human rights, we remember the action of previous British governments and the attitude today which refuses to give equal rights to the coloured as to the non-coloured people in Africa and elsewhere.

Freedom can never be satisfactorily secured

or maintained by violence, and a war of liberation is a tragic misnomer.

The graver crisis

IN spite of all the stringent measures which the Government has taken to fashion the national economy to a pattern which could stand the cost of the rearmament drive, they have failed.

That is the meaning of the warning issued by the Prime Minister and the arrangements for a full dress debate before the recess.

If the crisis so far from being resolved has taken a yet more serious turn it is doubtful whether Parliament ought to adjourn for several weeks and allow any new proposals to take their effect without the constant oversight of the House of Commons.

The moral is obvious. Not only do great armaments lead to war, they lead also to bankruptcy.

It may be that the Government will propose a further slowing down of the rearmament programme as the only means of preventing economic disaster and large scale unemployment. The old contention that armaments were a guarantee of full employment has been falsified, and the reverse is proving true: not only that armaments now lead to unemployment but that full employment may well depend upon a disarmament programme coupled with the expenditure of the money thus released upon a large scale, well-planned world development scheme.

Further attempts to solve the problem along the same lines as previously cannot succeed. They can only add fresh burdens to a people that deserve better at the hands of a government who offered them so much to hope for.

It is time that Government, Opposition and people alike realised that no adjustment of the armaments expenditure will suffice.

Total disarmament and nothing less is the key to the solution of political, economic and international difficulties.

The International Red Cross

MUCH capital has been made over the use of the veto by the Soviet delegate on two occasions during the discussions on germ warfare in the Security Council.

It has given the British and American delegates and their national press the opportunity to suggest that it is not germ warfare in which Russia is really interested but a new hate campaign.

Britain and America, however, have done nothing which could solve the problem or relieve the tension.

It is meaningless for delegates and newspapers to pretend that the International Red Cross is on "independent body whose neutrality is beyond question."

Russia does question it, as she questions the moral right of the Security Council to reach decisions on the matter without having heard the case of the Chinese and the North Koreans.

"International" in the title of the IRC does not mean that it is an international body in the commonly accepted sense of the word and that it is therefore impartial. All it means is that the work which the Red Cross does is international and approved by all nations.

The Geneva Convention which gives the protection of the Red Cross to those who as non-combatants tend the sick, wounded and other sufferers in war, recognised that such service should be rendered to all alike and because prisoners of war are among the chief sufferers the work of the Red Cross has been extended to cover the welfare of POWs.

It is the work of the Red Cross which is international, as is its symbol, but the work is carried on by national bodies trained first to succour their own wounded and to work as national units.

There is no International Red Cross brigade independent of national policies and orders.

The Red Cross therefore is not an international body as such nor is it neutral except in so far as the work of national sections is not confined to dealing with their own wounded.

Even the governing body of the IRC is not international. Its headquarters are at Geneva and it consists of 25 members all of whom must be Swiss citizens, who are appointed by co-option by the remaining members when a vacancy occurs. The body is therefore a closed corporation with no pretence to be democratically elected, and is certainly no more neutral than the Swiss Foreign Office.

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Max Plowman on Blake

By HUGH I'A FAUSSET

An Introduction to the Story of Blake, by Max Plowman. Gollancz, 12s 6d.

WHEN I first read this book a quarter of a century ago, I had recently been wrestling with Foster Damon's elaborate exposition of Blake's symbolism. By contrast the power of essential simplification revealed by Max Plowman seemed almost too good to be true.

For although Max himself had deprecated, had indeed refuted the idea that one fine day someone would discover the master-key to Blake, a key, as he put it, "that will open all the hidden doors and let us into the two-and-thirty palaces like children following a guide at Hampton Court," that was just what he seemed to have done, not, of course, by reducing Blake to a sort of glorious conundrum which he had wholly and finally solved, but by imaginative sympathy cutting through all the complexities in which the rationalising mind so easily entangles itself when we first seek to enter into Blake's visionary world.

Re-reading the book today, I am more deeply impressed with Max's achievement. Since he wrote it, a number of writers, Mona Wilson, for example, or Bernard Blackstone, have mapped more comprehensively the various countries of Blake's kingdom of the soul. But no one has more deeply or convincingly read its heart. Consequently this is the book which should be read first by all who would truly understand Blake or, if they have already committed themselves elsewhere, they should measure the integrity of their understanding by Max's and read it last.

For most of us it will be a chastening, but enriching experience. Blake, Max wrote, "was first, foremost and always an imaginative writer, and if we leave imagination out of account in any consideration of him, we are on the high road to self-imposed misunderstanding! Stated like that, it seems almost a truism. Yet to understand Blake imaginatively is notoriously difficult, just because his visionary genius included remarkable powers of pure intellect. As a self-educated man his mind had escaped the conventional disciplines. This may not have been altogether gain in so far as it increased his isolation from other minds, intensified his singularity and left him alone to struggle with an excess

of spiritual light. The wonder is that in spite of this his imagination was so divinely human. And it was this human integrity, which received into itself the light from heaven and the fires from the abyssal depths, which appealed so intimately to Max Plowman, striking as it did a kindled chord in his own deeply responsive heart.

*

His book was as much an expression of his own faith and imagination as of Blake's. He trod with Blake the same path from innocence through the crucifixion of experience to that attainment of a true identity in which conflict is imaginatively resolved. And so, in his interpretation of Blake's symbolism and of his poetic vision of Man's struggle to reconcile time with eternity, all that was inessential and secondary fell away.

He read Blake's meaning so simply because he loved him so well.

Publications received

The History of Quaker Relations with Russia has been published in a pamphlet from Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Penn. USA (35 cents), "Toward Undiscovered Ends," by Anna Brinton. From George Fox's address to "the Czars of Moscow," and Peter the Great's attendance at a London Meeting to the Quaker Mission to Moscow in 1951 the pamphlet provides abundant evidence of the decision to "walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one."

Practical Aids to Public Speaking, by F. R. Worts (Allen and Unwin, 6s). Members of peace groups, debaters and political speakers will find much to help them in its pages while those who stand shivering on the brink of public speaking will be encouraged to take the plunge.

The World in March 1939, edited by Arnold Toynbee and Frank T. Ashton-Gwatkin (Oxford University Press, 45s) is a fully-documented volume issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Authoritative contributions, maps, tables and a full index make it a valuable reference book for workers in the peace movement.

Christ Within—The Inward Light, by William E. Wilson, BD (Friends Home Service Committee, 9d).

(Other reviews on pages 5 and 6)

ALEX COMFORT'S Trafalgar Square speech was a call to—

END THE COLD WAR

The following is a digest of the speech by Alex Comfort delivered at the PPU meeting on July 6 and briefly reported in Peace News on July 11.

ALEX COMFORT began his speech by describing the present world situation:

Germany being rearmed against her will; the United Nations conducting a barbarous war in Korea, begun without adequate investigation; repression in Eastern Europe paralleled by repression in Malaya and Indo-China; and the United States acting throughout the world under the pressure of men whose hysteria and militarism was even more alarming to some people than the narrowness of the Communists.

He did not believe that the issues were being put squarely and honestly to the British people. He did not believe that most people in this country had the slightest wish to align themselves with either of the powers between whom the present struggle was set.

Hatred

"Throughout this country," Dr. Comfort went on, "there is a feeling not only of intense anxiety, but of deep shame and disappointment that not one single prominent figure of either of the major parties has made any effective attempt to break out of this cycle of hatred."

"Because we all know that such an attempt, if it were to be made, would meet with a wave of public support unparalleled in our history—not only in Britain, but throughout Europe, and, I believe, throughout wide sections of American opinion which the Macarthys and MacArthurs have succeeded in intimidating."

He believed that what General Smuts had once said was still true—that whatever Britain's economic difficulties, her moral prestige was still enormous.

"If we were to insist that genuine negotiation should replace abuse and manoeuvre, if we were to call for a serious attempt to end the Cold War by agreement, if we were to lead the refusal of Europe to become a battlefield between Russia and America, I do not think there is the slightest doubt that we could succeed."

"I know it will be said that we have negotiated, and the negotiations have

been fruitless. But who but a lunatic expects negotiations to succeed so long as we are parties to the presence in Britain of American aircraft whose avowed purpose is to bombard Russia with atomic bombs?"

The speaker pointed out that war in Europe might break out tomorrow, not through any action of our own, but because of the utter irresponsibility of some of those on whom power rests, and quoted Lord Alexander's description of the Korean war as a dress rehearsal for the next.

Liberation

He then reminded his audience that in any future war, talk about liberation will play a very large part in reconciling the public in this country to the commission of barbarity by our own side.

"I ask you to remember," he said, "that the cause of barbarity, whether it is our barbarity in Korea, or the barbarity which has been alleged against the Russians in their treatment of political prisoners, is fear, fear which leads normal people to entrust their obedience to equally frightened, but crueler, leaders."

"War breeds injustice—it never remedies it. A war which is launched to liberate a million political prisoners will end with two million political prisoners and ten million dead. I hope that after Korea we shall hear rather less about wars of liberation."

Atrocities

"I say as a doctor, to both Communists and anti-Communists, that if you wish to see the end of atrocities you must first end the cold war. If you criticise the Chinese for executing opponents, or the Americans for their spy-mania, which is an early phase of the same process, then you must recognise that it is only, in the last resort, by our own refusal to do likewise, to react to injustice by hatred rather than by conciliation, that any long-term growth in civilised responsibility can be brought about."

"War will save nobody, liberate nobody, end no injustices, promote no humane cause. It can only make us compete in cruelty with the cruelties we profess to oppose."

"What we have done in Korea has long since left us without any moral authority to criticise the Russians, the Chinese, or, for that matter, the Nazis themselves."

Dr. Comfort summed up his speech in two statements—that the present policy would inevitably lead to war, in which Britain could not survive, and that Britain was in a position to arrest this insanity and reverse the engines.

He added, however, that it was useless to await the action of governments. "There is only one answer to war," he declared, "and only one way of forcing peace upon the governments of the world, and that is through our individual refusal to countenance war, on any pretext, at any time, for any purpose."

Police Action

"Korea has shown us how plausibly a wicked and scandalous war can be disguised as a 'police action.' War today is whole. It admits no exceptions."

"If you support it, you support everything—atom bombs, napalm, lies, tyranny, and the extinction of this country. And the choice is a personal one. You have to decide, now, whether you are willing to entrust yourself to men for whom these things are a 'good show' and a 'real party'—whether you are willing to give your life, or let the Government give your son's life, to keep Syngman Rhee or Chiang Kai-shek in office, or to win a presidential election."

"You have to decide whether you are on the side of the American atom bombs and the Communist concentration camps, or on the other side, the side of man."

"The Cold War can be ended if the Governments know that they do not command the obedience of their publics."

The latest Peace News Pamphlet

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Men who live peace: 4

CHRISTOPHER FRY

AN interesting description of Christopher Fry the man has been quoted by Derek Stanford in his excellent critical study of the playwright.

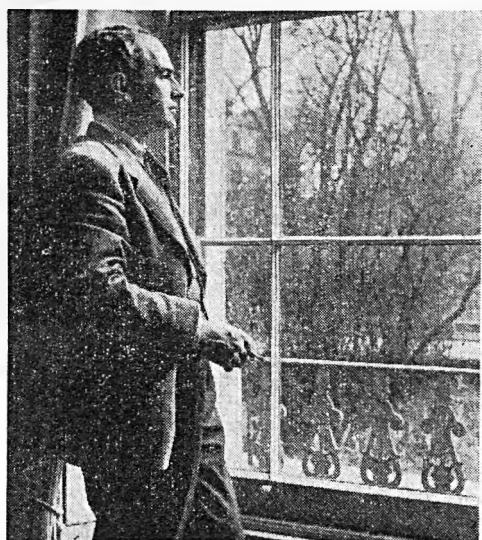
In 1940 Stanford, serving in a non-combatant arm of the Forces, heard that Fry had arrived with a new "intake." He wanted to meet him, but how could he find the poet among so many strange faces? Then someone said "You couldn't possibly miss him—a short dark man, as brown as aunt."

On a recent occasion when I had organised a social event at which Christopher Fry generously agreed to act as one of the hosts I remembered the words Stanford had recalled. And I found them useful in helping me to recognise our leading young dramatic poet.

There has been something of the meteoric in Christopher Fry's rise to fame. Poets

usually flower early and begin to make their reputation in the early twenties. Christopher Fry, born in 1907, matured more slowly.

In 1937, his first play, *The Boy with a Cart*, was given a number of amateur per-



CHRISTOPHER FRY

formances. Then he went back to teaching for three years, reluctantly turning his back on the theatre where he had worked as actor and producer.

But he could not stay away from it for long. By 1940 he was Director of the Oxford Playhouse, to which he returned after leaving the Forces in 1944.

By that date Fry's career had become of interest to those in the immediate professional circle of actors, managers and dramatists. In 1946 *A Phoenix Too Frequent* was produced at the Mercury Theatre and later at the Arts Theatre. His subsequent plays, *The Lady's Not for Burning* and *Venus Observed*, with their unusual blend of wit and lyricism, took the West End by storm. Fry had arrived and every theatre-goer knew his name.

Why should his success have been so overwhelming? Largely, one feels, because of the freshness and lyrical quality of his language; and because he represented a sparkling romantic reaction to the somewhat stiff domestic drama of the previous decade. A large audience felt that it had found a poet it could unashamedly enjoy; it could warm to daring imagery and exuberance of mood, having for so long lived on a drab, near-starvation diet.

But Fry, to my mind, is important not be-

cause he happens to have achieved phenomenal success or tickles the fancy with colourful speeches, but because he has something vital to say. He is not an intellectual in the normal sense. Indeed, if he were, he could hardly have put himself across, for the British public does not care to strain its mental resources. Rather, Fry possesses a deeply intuitive, reflective mind, aware of sin and evil, but equally aware of man's need for gaiety and beauty.

All Fry's plays reveal his sensitive spiritual awareness; the surface comedy accentuates rather than obscures it. He does not, despite the drum-rolls, fanfares and light-hearted bantering, allow us to forget the unenviable condition of man. One of the characters in *A Sleep of Prisoners* says that we are:

In a sort of a universe and a bit of a fix. It's what they call the flesh we're in. And a fine old dance it is.

And in the same play—one in which Fry's religious convictions may be clearly seen—one finds the challenging lines:

Thank God our time is now when wrong Comes up to face us everywhere . . .

In a dedicatory letter to Robert Gittings, Fry explains what he has been trying to do in comedy:

We were talking then (1932), as we are talking now, of the likelihood of war. And I think we realised then, as we certainly now believe, that progress is the growth of vision: the inward perception of what makes for life and what makes for death.

And he continues:

I have tried, as you know, not altogether successfully, to say something of this, since comedy is an essential part of men's understanding.

A Sleep of Prisoners shows how four prisoners of war, locked up in a church in enemy territory, attempt to resolve their problems. Violence threatens from without and from within the group itself, for a soldier quarrels with and almost strangles one of his companions.

In succeeding dreams each prisoner works out a personal response to the motif of violence, seen in Old Testament terms. Thus the four prisoners, sleep-walking, re-enact the stories of Cain and Abel, David and Absalom, Abraham and Isaac, and that of Shadrach, Meshac and Abednego.

The most mature of the prisoners and the wisest says that the situation can only be resolved by taking "the longest stride of soul men ever took" which is "an exploration into God." In this play, as in *The Firstborn*, Christopher Fry shows that he may make a second reputation for himself: in tragedy as in comedy. And, so doing, he may well play a part in crystallising opinion against hatred and violence as instruments of international policy.

ROUNDING IT OFF

THE response to the suggestion of a self-denial week has brought in £50, which is a very welcome addition to our funds since we are uncomfortably near the limit of our overdraft and were beginning to wonder whether the staff might not be compelled to a week of self-denial if there were not sufficient in the bank to pay their wages!

Those who sent money have done so as the result of giving up strawberries, ice-cream and cigarettes; housekeeping savings, part of an 81st birthday present, a visit to the chiropractor; income tax bonus, part of a legacy and an insurance payment; the money from a contribution to a periodical, from the sale of eggs and a sales commission; and other sacrifices, though one contributor wrote that it is easy to make sacrifices when we think of the war refugees, especially the Koreans.

Another donor sent us the "odd money" on his monthly salary cheque and suggested that others should do the same. So here is the way to follow up the week of self-denial. Will every reader of Peace News be content with a nice round sum for wages or salaries this time and send to Headquarters Fund the odd shillings and pence in the pay packet or on the cheque? Would you really miss it? Just for this once?

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Total received to date: £224

Our aim for the year: £1,000.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

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MALAYA

Report on Malaya by Enid Lakeman, BSc, ARIC. 32 pages and cover. The McDougall Trust, 17 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. 2s.

THE troubles of Malaya, as distinct from the trouble in Malaya, are in a way a miniature version of the troubles which render world peace so difficult a goal to attain:

Diversity of racial elements with all the resulting differences in personal and collective attitudes to matters spiritual and material;

Clashes of individual and sectional interests, sometimes amounting to irreconcilable incompatibility;

Projections of an unfortunate past, breaking through into the present and the future.

Memories not always correctly interpreted and appraised;

Economic difficulties, doubly hard to resolve in Malaya's case, on account of an over-specialised national production based on the export value of certain raw materials, dependent on the racket of world prices dictated by others, of which, moreover, too small a share goes to the benefit of the workers.

The diversity of the racial elements, declares the author of "Report on Malaya," is the central fact of the situation. There is hardly any intermarriage between them, and there are sharp differences in their levels of prosperity.

The largest element—native and assimilated Malays from other Malayan countries—constitutes probably just under one half of the population. It is also the poorest, the least ambitious, and, with the exception of a small minority, the least actively interested in politics.

Even apart from this, however, there was nothing in existence in Malaya on which to build a democratic regime when the devil-would-be-a-saint spirit suddenly became strong enough to overcome self-profitable inertia as soon as the continuance of the comfortable old order was seriously threatened.

Japanese occupation

As nearly always, the past explains the present. And this present is so complicated that it defies the over-simplifications to which the most enthusiastic of pacifists are prone.

It will be an arduous task to produce even the semblance of conditions out of which real pacification of Malaya can arise.

Repressive action in the meantime may remove the outer symptoms of the trouble (if it does not, as is also possible, aggravate them); but it will do nothing to bring the country nearer to willing acceptance of whatever euphemistic term may be used to express its incorporation in an anti-communist alignment.

The report begins with an outline of the background and a short sketch of the history of government. It clarifies the effects of the Japanese occupation and

(Continued on page seven)

RUSSELL MUST TRY AGAIN

The Impact of Science on Society, by Bertrand Russell. Allen and Unwin, 7s 6d.

LIKE other popular writers, Bertrand Russell is unduly prolific. His "Impact of Science on Society" traverses, rather less felicitously, some of the same ground as his penultimate work "New Hopes for a Changing World" and indeed as the earlier "Authority and the Individual." But he achieves a remarkable freshness of expression; his writing is always witty, readable and clear, in contrast with the frequent wooliness and obscurity of such other minor prophets as Heard and Middleton Murry.

A main criticism applicable to this as to his other social treatises is his proneness to slapdash assertions especially on historical themes; at times, like Chesterton, he seems to sacrifice truth and even meaning for the sake of an epigram. He does not always adhere to his professed scientific principle "that matters of fact are to be ascertained by observation." His statement is indeed loose; surely controlled observation is essential to scientific method.

Among many propositions which might be debated at more length these are typical: "The mechanistic outlook led to a cessation of persecution and to a generally humane attitude" (Was not the Evangelical movement partly responsible for humanitarian reforms? Is there evidence that the prevailing outlook of the Victorian was "mechanistic?").

"The modern power of the State began . . . as a result of gunpowder." (Is there historical warrant for assuming a monopoly of gunpowder by the "Strong Monarchies" against feudal magnates and bourgeoisie?). "Since science began, war has been the strongest incentive to technical progress" (Russell's treatment of this topic is cursory; he seems unacquainted with the recent work of J.U.Nef—one of first-class importance for pacifists—in which a distinguished economic historian demonstrates the retarding and perverting effects of war on economic development).

"Lenin had the privilege of constructing his Utopia." (Were not his efforts largely diverted from the establishment of a Communist community to defeating the Whites and restoring a bankrupt economy, even at

Peace, War and You, by Jerome Davis.

"WAR can be prevented." This is the thesis of "Peace, War and You" in which Jerome Davis indicates not only the course which the nations should follow, but also the concrete and specific steps which each individual within the nation should take, to stop the drift to destruction.

He draws a depressing picture of American foreign and home policy today: her power politics and the dollar diplomacy which has secured her bases completely surrounding Russia; her economic policy at home which can only remain stable so long as war-fear is kept alive; her drift towards totalitarianism which is "not a future threat but a present catastrophe"; her refusal to recognise Red China, and her support of Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, a denial of both the Potsdam and Cairo treaties.

In a chapter headed "Disarmament and the Atom Bomb" the author gives a well-documented survey of all the negotiations which have so far taken place on the subject; lists the various proposals to resolve the impasse between Russia and the United States made by impartial observers as well as by the USSR herself; and points out that as late as 1951 President Truman in what he called a "Peace Appeal" still held to the outworn Baruch proposals for the control of atomic energy.

War not inevitable

The moral laws of the universe cannot be side-stepped, but war is not inevitable, he contends. Friendliness between nations has never been tried. In a challenging statement he shows what might have been done for other nations if the United States had spent for constructive purposes just the sums that she alone expended on the last World War:

"The four hundred billion dollars (£150,050m) that we used could have provided a \$2,500 (£950) house for every family in Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Russia and the United States. In addition it could have furnished each household with \$500 (£187) worth of land and \$1,000 (£375) worth of equipment. Added to this could have been given a hospital for every town of 5,000 or more in the world and a library costing a million dollars for every city over 20,000 as well as a ten million dollar endowed University for each country. After all this, there would still have been enough left over to provide all the farmers with tractors."

For the only way to challenge Communism, he points out, is to offer the world a better solution than Communism offers. Friendship should be translated into factories for agricultural machinery, fertilisers, irrigation of arid lands, power dams

the expense of retreat to the New Economic Policy).

Two important if not original propositions command assent. "To discover ways of controlling the increased power of officials is one of the most important political problems of our time"; and the linked diagnosis: "It is mainly war that has caused the excessive power of modern states." This deserves emphasis; the main factor responsible is war, not Socialism, which originally stood for "the withering away of the state" but has been corrupted by war economy into *etatisme*.

Of most interest should be his present opinion on the possibility of avoiding war. In this case his position is not very clear, and tends to ambivalence. He takes a rather less optimistic line than when expressing "New Hopes"; as with lesser mortals, his anticipations apparently fluctuate with his emotional state, and are presumably influenced by the state of his digestion or of the weather.

There will be general agreement that "the root of the matter is . . . love or compassion. If you feel this you have a motive for existence, a guide in action, a reason for courage, an imperative necessity for intellectual honesty." But he does not go far in seeking to apply this admirable sentiment. While affirming that "we are nearer to achieving the prevention of war than ever before"; he also forecasts that "we must expect vast upheavals and appalling suffering before stability is attained."

The best expedient that he can meantime visualise is that "the predominant power establish a single authority over the whole world and thus make future wars impossible." Historically there is some ground for holding that anything like a World State, notably the Roman Empire, has been imposed by a "predominant power." But the present unsteady equilibrium of East and West gives little indication of such a solution even were it desirable.

Russell must try again. He might find a more fruitful line of thought (as pacifists in general will) by pursuing the theme—to which he makes passing allusions—of the diffusion and localisation rather than the concentration and centralisation of power.

W. H. MARWICK.

The Waste that is War

Peace, War and You, by Jerome Davis. Schuman (USA), \$3.00.

and river development. It should mean genuine help in abolishing illiteracy everywhere.

Briefly he outlines the schemes of Senator Brien McMahon, Walter P. Reuther, Stringfellow Barr, and draws attention to yet a fourth plan for the development of backward areas put forward in May 1951 by five United Nations experts. "The blue print of world peace is here, will the wealthy nations respond?"

Further chapters advocate the formation of a permanent peace planning council aimed at promoting international understanding; the extension of the co-operative movement which prevents some of the major causative factors of war; and the creation of a system of World Government by which the nations will accept "World Peace under World Law."

In the words of Clarence Pickett, Honorary Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee which received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947, "If one wants a sense of direction, a corrective to current clichés, a renewed faith, the reading of this volume will be rewarding."

OLWEN BATTERSBY.

AFRICA

By JOHN P. FLETCHER

Report on Southern Africa, by Basil Davidson. Jonathan Cape, 15s.

BASIL DAVIDSON, an accomplished English journalist, has written a hopeful book. He rightly uses the new term "Southern Africa" as distinct from "South Africa," and the hopefulness comes in the facts which he sets out clearly that Southern Africa is an economic unit which has passed right into the stage of an industrial revolution.

He compares this with our British industrial revolution of one hundred and fifty years ago and the comparison enables us to see through the present stern struggle to the emergence of new Southern Africa policies based on freedom and equality.

Urgent need for goodwill

Politicians have not got to this stage yet, but industrialists have got to the stage where they challenge the politicians.

He quotes the President of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr. Hector Hart, who in his address to the Chamber's annual convention of 1950, spoke of "the urgent necessity for more practical demonstrations of goodwill and interest in the welfare of the largest section of our population, the native peoples," and to appeal "for a dispassionate and impartial treatment of the problem outside the realm of party politics and on the highest possible level."

Commenting on the facts, Davidson says, "The integration of white and non-white is taking place through industrialisation under the very eyes (of white South Africans). They succumb to it, even while they babble still the myths and slogans of a world that is gone."

Another hopeful fact is the emergence of what Davidson calls "the new trades unions of secondary industry," under the leadership of the intrepid Solly Sachs.

These multi-racial unions of Afrikaans, Coloured and African workers are a direct blow to the cherished positions of the Nationalist party. It is no wonder that the conflict is a strenuous one.

While I am writing these words, news from South Africa comes over the radio that Solly Sachs has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for speaking from the steps of Johannesburg city hall at a meeting from which he had been prohibited from attending. He was allowed bail of £250 pending appeal.

White Master's prisoner

Turning to the large part of Southern Africa for which the British Government is directly responsible, the book shows that there are strong social and industrial colour bars, almost as bad as those in South Africa. But bad as these are there is a distinction which Basil Davidson points out. He says:

"In several British territories the treatment of Africans may be more humane, but their contributions are in certain respects—and especially in that of education—notably worse than in South Africa: the difference in social climate is caused by a belief on the part of the Africans that improvement is possible and even probable. . . . In South Africa, by contrast, the African knows that he is the complete prisoner of his white masters."

This distinction is important for all pacifist readers. The possibility of political freedom and equality in itself produces hope.

The Recovery of Culture, by Henry Bailey Stevens (Daniel, 21s). Will interest those who have read "The Golden Bough."

Two pages of new book

INDIA

The Economics of Peace. The Cause and the Man. Published in India by Gram Udyog Vibhag. Rs. 10.

ONE of Gandhi's most uncompromising followers in India today is J. C. Kumarappa. It is particularly valuable, therefore, to have this volume which has been prepared for his sixtieth birthday by his friends and associates in the Gandhian "constructive movement."

It contains essays on Dr. Kumarappa's life and work, extensive extracts from his writings, and a useful collection of essays on the constructive programme.



Gandhi's views on the economic basis of a peaceful social order are a radical challenge to western pacifism, and Kumarappa presses the challenge home. Our modern wars are the consequence of large-scale industry and trading for profit. Self-indulgence has become the dominant motive in the world's economic life, and self-indulgence begets violence. Thus, Kumarappa sees no particular value in conscientious objection to war by itself, or in political remedies for international violence like world government.

Pacifists must work for a non-violent social order, which involves self-sufficiency in the primary needs of food, clothing, and shelter. "We have to reach down to the daily routine of the life of every citizen and from it weed out all parasitic growth."

The constructive programme has been a courageous attempt to weed out parasitic growths from the life of India; and the English reader will learn much about its various activities in this book (The two short articles on Basic Education, by E. W. Aryanayakam and Marjorie Sykes, are of special interest).

It also contains some severe criticism of the present government of India's indifference to the cause of promoting village industries, self-sufficiency, and decentralisation.

As appears again and again in this book, to take Gandhian economics seriously means a continuous struggle with vested interests, the power of large capital, and the pressure of cheapness. It is hardly surprising that on all important issues the Indian government supports the capitalists against the village industries.

India is moving towards large-scale industrialisation in the same way that Britain did—in the face of similar protests—a century and a half ago. The sombre implications of this development are analysed in this book by J. C. Kumarappa's brother, Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa.



It is one of the ironies of life that in the event technical assistance by western countries will increase India's dependence on the large-scale industrial economy which in Kumarappa's analysis is the main cause of modern wars. Hence, of course, his opposition to foreign aid.

The way out of this uncomfortable dilemma might be found if mutual aid were to become part of plans for the revival of India's countryside; a solution which would require a determined effort towards decentralisation in the West, and a confidence in India itself that rural life could be made the centre of economic development. The former condition seems remote, and the latter hardly less so.

As the Economic Weekly of Bombay put it, in a review of Michael Young's "Fifty Million Unemployed":

"What one misses in the country today is the light that Michael Young found, or imagined he found—the hope for revitalising the rural community, the urge towards self-help and self-sufficiency . . ."

Another review of the same pamphlet (in Vigil, an opposition weekly which professes Gandhian sympathies) makes the same comment:

"The village as the unit, and a higher quality of life and fulfilment in self-help and self-sufficiency of rural communities—that is what he had come to look for. That is also what he imagined he found. One wishes that more people in India shared his faith."

There are, nevertheless, people in India who do share this faith, and "The Economics of Peace" is a useful account of their work and their beliefs.



Kumarappa has little patience with national leaders who praise and lavish money on the armed forces, and acquiesce in large-scale industrialisation, while at the same time they pay tribute to Gandhi as the Father of the Nation. "Gandhiji," he says, "is either the father of a monster, or a father without a child. There will be time enough to confer fatherhood on him when the country wholeheartedly adopts his programme based on the welfare of the masses."

There is something of the Old Testament prophet in the passion of this Indian Christian for social righteousness.

GEORGEY CARNALL.

PEACE

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* Full text p statement Friends Pe phlets and shop, 3, Bl

PEACE CHURCHES

"The immediate task of the Church is to help the natural man to overcome that fear which expresses itself in instinctive violence and leads to war."
—"War is contrary to the Will of God" *

QUOTATION from so short and weighty a pamphlet as this is difficult, for the embarras de richesse is such that if one once began one would end by quoting virtually the whole. But the above sentence may fairly stand as a key to all that goes before and after it.

The four Christian bodies who have combined to produce this statement were moved to do so by a conviction that both the Oxford (1937) and Amsterdam (1948) World Assemblies of the Churches left open a question on which many Christians feel that a more decisive stand must be taken if God is not to be mocked and man betrayed.

It is a relief to turn to such a manifesto when the heads and dominant figures of many major denominations seem more concerned to palliate and even applaud "instinctive violence" as a cure for the fear of which it is the offspring, instead of pointing men to the perfect love which St. John declared capable of casting out fear.

A corporate testimony

Three of the associates are churches with a corporate testimony of non-violence, though only the Society of Friends is indigenous to and well known in this country; the others are the Mennonites and the Church of the Brethren. Last in order of writing, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, provides a focus of witness not only for members of bodies such as these but for those adherents of other, and often much larger, denominations, whose individual conviction on this matter is more radical than that of their parent sect.

They have in common a firm stand on the Christocentric principles of their pacifism. None are content to stress merely the blatant waste, futility and sterility of war, nor even to labour its violence from a sentimental humanitarian viewpoint (though one suspects that those who employ "sentimental" as a sneer in talking of humane and ethical objections would be none the worse for a larger bump of sentiment themselves).

War is denounced as one of human nature's worst manifestations of sin against God, the Creator and Father; against Jesus Christ and the authority with which He, as the incarnate word of God, rebuked it; against the supporting testimony of His apostles preserved in the New Testament epistles; and against the voice of the Holy Spirit in individual consciences everywhere. Not only so, but the positive duty of peace making, of reconciling, and of rebuilding is held up as a God given task; the stupid gibe that pacifism is "all negatives" and "all destructive criticism" is met, not by verbal contradiction, but by counsel which plainly shows the dynamic and constructive character of a consistent Christian's peace testimony.

This firm tenure of God's revealed will as the criterion of man's rightful attitude safeguards the various witnesses from any danger of compromise, especially from any sapping of their defences by specious talk of "lesser evils."

Fair weight is given to the hazards of persecution and perversion which are incurred by a non-violent attitude; some might feel that almost more than fair weight is given to the claim of the nation state, though the Friends section drily points out, when dealing with the loosely emotive word "patriotism," that "his finest service is found in seeking for his country that righteousness that exalteth a nation."

Contrast with Nuremberg

There can be few countries where self-righteousness has been more avidly welcomed as the means of national exaltation than Britain and the USA (with the USSR perhaps running a good third), and in this pamphlet the candid humility with which Mennonites, Friends and Brethren in turn confess their past shortcomings makes a pleasing contrast with the vindictive arrogance of the judge-nations at Nuremberg and elsewhere.

Nobody who reads this seriously can remain altogether content to resign his judgement to a Leader, a Commanding Officer, or a Regimental Padre with visions nearer to Joshua than to Jesus. The Friends remind him in so many words of "man's overriding obligation to live by a higher law known through the grace of God and recognised inwardly by its own Divine authority."

These writers are out to strip the soul of dependence on human leadership with all its lies, compromises, and too fluidly relative standards, and to leave it bare and alone with God, in the confidence that He who formed the law continually gives strength to abide by it.

This may be virtually a new God to many. At least he is something other than the vaunted "co-pilot" of an American bomber, the "Great Patriotic" figure-head of the Russian Orthodox church in 1941-45, or the mascot on the bonnet of Montgomery's jeep.

CHRISTOPHER MUNRO.

Full text published by the For 6d. The statement of the Society of Friends only, Friends Peace Committee, 3d. Both pamphlets available from Housmans Bookshop, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

Christian pacifism

By JOHN FERGUSON

The Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism, by Charles E. Raven, DD. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 5s.

OF those who challenged us in the 'thirties to think out afresh our Christian commitment in matters of peace and war three names stand supreme, Dick Sheppard, Alex Wood and Charles Raven.

The inexorable passage of the years claimed the first of these far too soon; the last months have taken from us the visible presence of Alex Wood, together with Alfred Salter, George Davis and Marian Parmoor. It is good that Charles Raven is speaking today with that same clarity and forthrightness with which he showed us new profundities of thought in "War and the Christian" and heartened us in "The Cross and the Crisis."

Perhaps the greatest need for Christian pacifists at present is to demonstrate the power of a comprehensive theology of which pacifism is an integral part. We are too often accused of isolating illegitimately a single issue. The truth is that though there is a sense in which pacifism is a single and particular application of the Gospel, in its implications it involves the centralities of our faith. There is much modern theology which by denying the relevance to us of the ethic which Jesus taught and by which He lived, effectively denies the Incarnation.

IMMORTALITY

This is Life Eternal, by Esme Wynne-Tyson. Rider, 16s.

MYSTICAL experience, according to Aldous Huxley, is the test of a civilisation. The universal lack of it in our own period, equally obvious in the hurried Western civilisation of Europe and America and the totalitarian Soviet State, is the worst indictment of both systems. The material aspect of life is the only one that counts for the commercial world of the West as for the Communist order in the East.

Mrs. Wynne-Tyson here places on record some of the main presentations of the belief in personal immortality. Her book ranges from earliest times to Christian Science. It includes people like Madame Blavatsky and Spinoza, who were outside orthodox teaching, besides a few of the Fathers and others who were inside the Christian tradition. It is a stimulating testimony to a number of realities that people at present do not choose to believe in.

The author points out the grossly superstitious nature of much orthodox Christian teaching on the subject. Most orthodox believers still seem to entertain the idea that their souls will pass directly at death into eternal felicity or everlasting damnation.

Those who have tended to deny the legendary views of the Christian Church on this matter, like the Cambridge Platonists or Dean Inge, have usually become in part or wholly heretical.

Mrs. Wynne-Tyson's discussion of Sir Oliver Lodge's attitude to these mysteries is most interesting: it seems to the reviewer that here we have the beginning of an attitude to immortality that is viable. At least in this dim and difficult region, it is one that is preferable to that of a Wilberforce or a Wesley telling the poor of everlasting bliss—in Salford and Manchester.

H.R.

The pacifist's assertion that the way of God is the way of suffering reveals our beliefs about God, about creation, about redemption, about the existence of evil. Upon our real belief in the Holy Spirit depends the question whether our outlook is fundamentally pessimistic, believing that helpless man is left to his own resources, or fundamentally optimistic, believing that, however fallen, this is still God's world, and His power can make nonsense of our petty calculations.

The possibility of a symposium showing such a comprehensive outlook immediately suggests itself, with the analogy of influential volumes such as "Foundations" or "Essays Catholic and Critical" (The last even suggests a title "Essays Pacifist and Practical"). Such a book might challenge the World Church as nothing else could. Efforts to bring one into being have so far failed. Now Charles Raven has, so to speak, painted a miniature of such a theology, and under his brush the queen of the sciences appears far more attractive than in the gloomy canvasses of Reinhold Niebuhr and Karl Barth—but above all appears as queen, with power within this world, not just helplessly following events.

Raven's "The Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism" is a clear, heartening, convincing answer to contemporary pessimism and faithlessness. It consists of lectures given in the USA under the Robert Treat Paine foundation; one would have given much to be present at the discussions at Union Seminary where Niebuhr and his disciples hold sway. The lectures were written while Dr. Raven was travelling round the world, and books were not readily available. For that they are none the worse; they represent the fruits of assimilated scholarship and possess the freshnesses of direct thinking.



What impression do they leave? First, of unrivalled charity: no one who reads them can fail to come face to face with fundamental and challenging thoughts. Second, of relevant scholarship: parallels from church history genuinely illuminate the present. Third, of rare breadth of outlook: you will find in these pages suggestive comment upon partnership between men and women, colour prejudice, committee procedure, modern art, Communism and many other themes. Fourth, of a right sense of values: Dr. Raven sees as the great needs of our time a theology which has come to terms with modern science, a right relationship between men and women, and a solution to the problem of war, and many of us know how much he has himself contributed to meeting these needs. Fifthly, of a dynamic and conquering faith: here we find an outlook that is free alike from the shallow liberalism and the degraded pessimism that are sometimes presented to us as the only alternatives.

This is a book to possess, to read, to ponder deeply, to act upon. It is a book to circulate widely, to pass on to ministers and fellow-Christians, to ask them if here is not the true Gospel, to challenge them to accept it with all that it implies. Dr. Raven has again put us into his debt. In so doing he gives us an opportunity. It is now for us to grasp it.

RELIGION

Religion in Britain Since 1900 by G. Stephen Spinks, MA, PhD, in collaboration with E. L. Allen, MA, PhD, DD, and James Parkes, MA, DPhil. Andrew Dakers Ltd. 18s.

THE customer who complained recently that all the Easter Cards she was offered were religious ones and who asked, "haven't you any nicer ones?" is typical of our generation.

Amidst the many shocks that were suffered during World War II one was the discovery that children evacuated from thickly populated industrial areas were not only accustomed to unhygienic behaviour but were scripturally illiterate. Dr. Parkes quotes The Times on the subject of evacuation that the children "had no idea who was born on Christmas Day."

The history of religion in Britain during these last 50 years is the story of a decline in public worship and a depreciation in the moral leadership of the Christian Church.

It is the record of organisational change but not of deepening faith; of "the leaven of English-speaking Christianity" at work "in non-European minds with particular force" but of a decline in Britain to the point where "80 per cent of the population of England under 30 years of age cannot name the Four Gospels."

It is the story of a growing paradox: William Temple, at the time of his enthronement in Canterbury, spoke of "this world-wide Christian fellowship" as the "new fact of our era," yet six years later, at Amsterdam, the representatives of the World Church felt unable to hold a united Communion Service, "and thus portrayed in a double sense the broken Body of the one Lord."

Nothing breaks the Body of the one Lord more than war, and when one reviews the Churches' record in this respect over the last 50 years the explanation of the decline and fall of organised Churchmanship becomes immediately evident.

The book is to be warmly commended to Christian folk especially, that we may be made aware that the reason for the forest of empty pews which confront so many a preacher is not to be found in terms of the popularity of the racing cycle, the motor-car, the wireless and the Sunday cinema, but rather in the Church's "weakness displayed in face of one of the gravest moral problems of our time. It was as if they (the Churches) filed a petition in bankruptcy" ruefully confessing "that they share the perplexities of their fellows."

"Religion in Britain Since 1900" is written by three men, but shows a significant harmony of thought even though "there has been no attempt to iron out differences in outlook."

Dr. Stephen Spinks, editor of the Hibbert Journal, is the writer of the story, with Dr. E. L. Allen and Dr. J. W. Parkes responsible for three chapters each of the thirteen which the book contains. Andrew Dakers has done a real service to the thinking and knowledge of our day by commissioning this record.

If anyone should still feel that war is "the lesser of two evils," he would do well to read the paragraph which begins on page 223, wherein the facts are given of the effect of war upon the spiritual life of the British people. Better still, read the whole book!

CLIFFORD H. MAQUIRE.

VICKY

Stabs in the Back, by Vicky. Introduction by R. J. Cruikshank. Max Reinhardt, 6s.

THE job of the cartoonist is to point the moral and swiftly, surely, and succinctly adorn the tale, with a wit that is quick and biting, a comic humour that wrings spontaneous laughter even from the victim of the joke, and a composition which instantly appeals to the eye. The reaction of the spectator must be immediate, or all is lost.

No wonder that good cartoonists can be counted upon the fingers of one hand. Among those few, Vicky of the News Chronicle holds his own with the greatest, either past or present.

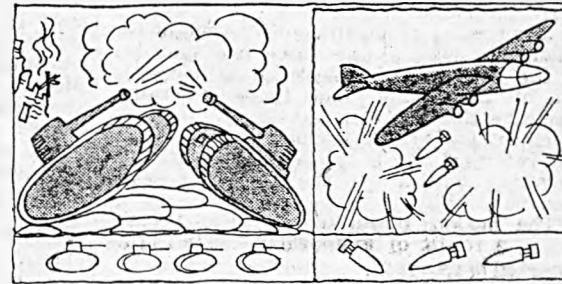
His latest selection covers the period from 1945 to 1952, and each page, with the exception of three or four deadly serious attacks upon some of the evils of the world,



must surely draw laughter even from those most severely pricked by his satire. In fact, the cover-piece, which depicts Churchill, Attlee and Morrison looking over their shoulders, pursued by Vicky himself stabbing at them with his well-pointed pen succeeds in also giving an impression of half-rueful appreciation on the faces of the three victims.

The cartoon, "Need It Be Like This?" which Vicky kindly allowed the IPPU to use as a leaflet is included in the book, and there are many others which point straight to the futility, ridiculousness and wickedness of war. It is six shillings worth that no pacifist can afford to be without.

Sybil Morrison.



NEED IT BE LIKE THIS?

PLAYWRIGHT'S LIFE

Christopher Fry Album by Derek Stanford. Peter Nevill, 16s.

DEREK STANFORD has already written a serious study of Christopher Fry's work which will presently appear in a second and revised edition. This "Album" is a pictorial record of Fry's life and of the phenomenal success of his verse drama.

Intended for the general reader, and not for the specialist, it gives a vivid and readable impression of a writer whose primary interest is his work rather than his reputation.

Sixty half-tone illustrations of scenes from the plays and various informal portraits of the author will indeed make this volume "the perfect gift book" for those who have found colour and delight in Fry's work.

BRIEFLY NOTICED

Words without Songs, by Thomas B. Pitfield (Sherratt and Son, 3s 6d). Verses grave and gay.

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In Australia—

ARCHBISHOP'S SPEECHES DRAW PROTESTS

AN open letter to the Archbishop of York was recently published in the Australian pacifist monthly, The Peacemaker, following the Archbishop's visit to Australia.

The writer, Roger Page, a former member of the British PPU now resident in Australia, complained of "a series of speeches that can only be described as recruiting speeches," made by the Archbishop during his tour.

"You called for a strong nation and a strong empire," wrote Roger Page. "You went so far as to deny your Master by saying that armed security was our only hope."

"No hope in Christ! No hope in the Prince of Peace! Not even a chance if we trust in God; no, our only hope is in armed might."

Many non-pacifists were acutely disappointed that the Archbishop brought no "burning Christian message for these times."

"More than one such person bluntly said you need not have bothered to travel 12,000 miles to say what any tuppenny-ha'penny politician could have said if he had never heard of Jesus."

The South Australian Peace Pledge Union were recently able to send a deputation to the SA Methodist Conference. On behalf of the PPU Mr. J. L. S. Treloar urged the repeal of conscription and presented the pacifist attitude to war. Another PPU member had the opportunity of presenting the pacifist case to the Presbyterian Assembly.—Australian Peacemaker.

New Zealand MP wants

"A LITTLE LESS WAR AND A LITTLE MORE PEACE"

CRITICISM of United Nations intervention in Korea was voiced in the New Zealand House of Representatives on July 4 by Opposition member Mr. C. L. Carr (Lab. Timaru).

He declared that UN had set out to "democratise" Korea, but instead had been responsible for the deaths of 3,000,000 North Koreans.

He asked whether it would not be better for the United States to produce consumer commodities of some value rather than war material to be "shot away and wasted," as in Korea. The talk about helping to save people from Communism had been proved so much propaganda. "Instead, we fill them with lead and poison their food supply."

Mr. Carr said he would favour the inclusion in the Pacific Pact of all the nations of the Pacific including China and Japan. This might lead to a little less war and a little more peace.

Speaking from the Government benches, Mr. J. Rae said the people of New Zealand were proud of what the New Zealanders were doing in Korea. He asked: "Is the Labour Party behind the boys in Korea?"

Mr. Carr: Undoubtedly.
Mr. J. B. Kent (Lab. Westland): We don't just pay lip service. NZAP

"Only a blueprint"

"IT is only too apparent that another war would mean fratricide within the Mystical Body of Christ. Anglicans would be murdering Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Christians. This has happened before, but few have noticed the spiritual scandal of it all, and the grief it must have brought to the Sacred Heart of Jesus."

"International Communism is a reality, but international Christianity is at present only a blueprint awaiting courageous and consistent application. For this age, the theology of the Cross must mean the abolition of national and racial barriers, otherwise we shall not be equal to the challenge which Communism makes."

—From a sermon preached by Canon C. F. Harman at the Annual Communion Service of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Oct. 13, 1951.

INDICES OF EUROPEAN 1948 = 100

WEST	Last quarter 1950	...	1951
United Kingdom ...	124	...	122
France ...	121	...	131
W Germany ...	220	...	239
Italy ...	130	...	141
Belgium ...	113	...	119
Netherlands ...	135	...	132

SOURCE: ECE (Geneva), Economic Bulletin, April 1952, p.50.

NOTE: The indices in general cover manufacturing, mining, gas, water and electricity supply, but not building. (1)

Facts and Figures

World economy in transition

II. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE

UNDERDEVELOPED countries need large capital investment in order to attain high living standards and to ensure hygienic and cultural progress.

The present fantastic inequalities of incomes between highly industrialised countries and the "backward areas" cannot be maintained for long. While in the US the average annual income per head amounts to \$1,453 (£519) and to £216 in Britain, the corresponding figure for India is £20, for Pakistan £18, and for Indonesia £9 (UN National Income Statistics).

In South-East Asia the average caloric value of food consumption has remained below pre-war levels (UN Ec. Survey of Asia, p. XVI). The population has to endure famine conditions because of insufficient assistance from industrialised countries.

The way they can pay for a small quantity of consumers' goods and some equipment to improve primitive production is by exporting a few selected raw materials acceptable to the "Western World."

From the economic point of view, Eastern Europe was also a "backward area" in the 1930's. Now it is a highly developed area. Through large-scale production of new capital goods—i.e. expansion of heavy industries and establishment of various new industries—the centrally planned economies in Eastern Europe multiplied their industrial output in the post-war years.

BENEFITS OF INDUSTRIALISATION

Income levels and cultural standards in backward areas can be raised by improvement of methods of production, including the use of more machines.

Industrialisation lays the foundation for a balanced economic development and usually slows down the increase of population in congested agricultural areas.

After the land reform in Eastern Europe—i.e. the abolition of semi-feudal systems—the various "Five Year Plans" accelerated the expansion of industrial production. Remarkable results have been attained without foreign loans and in spite of the American boycott rules on international trade between West and East.

The UN World Economic Report 1950-51 (p. 33) indicates the targets of industrial expansion within five years as follows: Hungary 310 per cent, Rumania 244 per cent, Czechoslovakia 198 per cent.

Poland's "Six Year Plan" (Dec., 1948) aims at the figure of 214 per cent, but the target may be raised. In the USSR industrial output in 1951 reached 200 per cent of the pre-war (1940) level.

The substantial increase in capital equipment raises productive capacity. Industrialisation enables the employed workers to produce more at less cost per unit. As a result, national income rises by 48 per cent in Czechoslovakia and by 130 per cent in Hungary within five years. In the USSR national income was 64 per cent above the 1940 level in 1950 (UN Report, p. 31).

IMPACT OF REARMAMENT

While in the West the arms drive absorbs 12-20 per cent of the national income, Eastern European countries are rapidly increasing their non-military production (see table below). The ECE Economic Bulletin, April, 1952, p. 13, states:

"In most Western European countries production fell short of previous peaks, the decline was clearly marked in Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom."

Labour Party leaders who support the breakneck arms drive which is now being slowed down by Mr. Churchill, are treated to a sneer by the OEEC "experts" in Paris, the "most authoritative economic body" according to Sunday Times (July 20, 1952);

"Britain's present plight is largely the outcome of socialist failure. . . . Since 1945 the financial policy in the UK has tended to take undue risk."

The OEEC Report—giving a completely untrue picture—suppresses the fact that Britain's industrial production rose by 40 per cent between 1946 and 1950, whereas Mr. Gaitskell's ruinous arms drive reversed the trend and left a trade deficit of £1,334 million in 1951.

The table below shows the impact of rearmament on Western industrial output.

Germany achieved the best result in the West. In Eastern Europe Hungary nearly trebled her industrial output within three years; this record achievement has no precedent in economic history.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION per cent

EAST	Last quarter 1950	...	1951
USSR ¹ ...	148	...	170
Czechoslov ...	146	...	179
Poland ...	170	...	204
Hungary ...	223	...	284
E. Germany ...	137	...	153

For USSR yearly averages.

By Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ)

The ECE Report (Geneva) gives the following estimates on defence expenditure in Eastern Europe in 1951: USSR 966,400m roubles (£8,600m), Poland 3,800m, Czechoslovakia 1,200m, Hungary 1,400m and Bulgaria 300m roubles.

The ECE Report adds the comment:

"In the absence of national income estimates it is difficult to appreciate the magnitude of these figures, but the increase in defence expenditure in Hungary comes to about 3 per cent of estimated national income for 1951."

Britain spends over 12 per cent of the national income on "defence" and the US nearly 20 per cent in 1952.

CONSTRUCTION OR DESTRUCTION?

It is pure illusion to assume that rearming countries, some of them on the verge of bankruptcy, can support the development of the "backward areas" and wage the so-called "War on Want."

In the UN Economic Committee Lord Wakehurst declared on Nov 26, 1951, that "Britain could not afford to contribute to any new fund for economic development of other countries."

The pamphlet "War on Want" quotes from a UN Report that a yearly increase of 2 per cent in the national income of the underdeveloped countries requires an assistance of \$10,000m annually. From the United Kingdom the required contribution amounts to £350 to £400m annually.

Can anyone take this suggestion seriously if the arms drive continues? Britain's arms expenditure in 1952-53 amounts to £1,462m. The US spends thousands of millions on A-bombs and this year's armaments bill reaches \$63,000m.

At the present rate of development, Eastern Europe's industrial capacity will reach the industrial output of the US in 1955. They will become capital exporting countries, capable of assisting development in backward areas.

The people of Asia, representing the majority of mankind, want to attain higher living standards. Only constructive work will impress them. They need economic, not military assistance.

CO-OP BOMBING PROTEST

The Co-operative Women's Guild has sent a letter to Mr. Churchill protesting against the Yalu River bombing, which, says the Guild, is likely to further hamper the truce negotiations, already deplorably protracted.

ADVERTISER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

THE MILLENNIUM

(Continued from July 4)

MOST men have no natural knowledge of religion and politics which comes from God and which requires chiefly a knowledge of human nature and are therefore not in a position to write independently and correctly on them, but, if they do so, they are wrong, such as the reformers, Karl Marx and others; and if others, equally ignorant of them follow them, they would fall into the ditch.

The world is governed by God's natural laws of loving God above all things and one's neighbour as oneself, which Christ said were the two greatest commandments. He also said that He had come to fulfil the law and the prophets and the inference is that he was referring to the above law. He institutes His Church, the Church of Rome, for the purpose, and St. John the Baptist refers to Him as the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world. If the above law is fulfilled by the world giving up her sins by means of Christianity, she will get justice and peace and the Millennium, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

Men have vices and are given to indulging in them either through ignorance or willfully as regards religion and politics. Sin is overcome by the practice of religion and all sin by Roman Catholic Christianity. The Divine religion, by not preaching the Divine religion men tend to go against God and His natural laws and sin and be immoral.

The strong nations appropriate the countries of weak and backward nations and prepare to build their empires. Their nationals are made to fight and kill one another and those of the countries wanted for the purpose. As these are immoral wars, those who kill and are killed have practically committed murder and suicide respectively and the rest of the nations have aided and abetted these crimes.

The wealth of the nations is mainly possessed by the upper classes, the masters of the people, and they mainly derive wealth from such countries, if possessed by them, and they make the people do most of the fighting for them. The latter are therefore treated as their slaves and the people of the countries appropriated are reduced to the same state. The people who are made to fight are said to be fighting for lofty ends and are warriors and heroes and granted medals for bravery, but in reality they are bandits fighting for other people's countries. Their chief politician is the bandit chief, and the other politicians his assistant bandit chiefs. In olden days, kings and their nobles governed the nations, but their provinces passed to the present day politicians who are virtually their successors.

As the upper classes of the nations possess most of the wealth of the nations, to give the people social justice requires an equitable distribution of it. This can only be done by limiting by law the amount of wealth to be acquired by an individual of a nation, so that no one will be able to possess excessive wealth and exploit the people to do so.

The nations were converted to Christianity mainly by the State, but since the Reformation the conversion of non-Christians by the State has been given up so that they do not enslave to the same standards as the Christians of the West who owe their civilisation to Christianity, as it is the outcome of religion. Moreover since the Reformation, on one plea or another, Christianity is largely being given up in the West, and its practice reduced to a minimum as the Reformers based their form of Christianity on the pure-thought of individual Christians. This made the practice of Christianity optional, and most men think to suit themselves: when sinners do so, one must not be surprised at the result of their doing so.

Before the Reformation the nations of the West were subject to the Pope and the Church of Rome and he would have prohibited these sins. Some of the Heads of the States and their nobles get rid of the Pope and the Church of Rome and indulge in sins such as having divorce and re-marriage, doing away with the religious orders and appropriating their property and having immoral wars.

LADY PARMOOR MEMORIAL MEETING

SEVERAL hundred people gathered at the Friends House, London, on July 17 to give thanks for "the grace of God as shown in the life of Marian Parmoor."

Lady Parmoor, who died on July 6, was President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and also active in many other peace organisations.

Among many who spoke were Gerald Bailey, who paid tribute to the devotion to duty which had led her, when over 70, to grapple with the subject of the control of atomic energy; Maria Louise Moll, who said that Marian Parmoor had done more to make Christ real to her and doubtless to many others, than anyone else she knew; and Sybil Morrison, who referred to the inspiration which the PPU staff—near neighbours of hers—had drawn from her courage in the face of ill-health, and her ever-cheerful greeting.

Briefly . . .

Francis King, author of "To the Dark Tower," who was a CO and spent four years on the land during the war, has been awarded the Somerset Maugham Award for 1952 for his latest novel, "The Dividing Stream."

Nevin Sayre, International Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Mrs. Sayre paid a short visit to South Africa in April.

In addition to speaking at For group meetings, Mr. Sayre addressed a number of other organisations, including the Round Table of Durban, a group of young business men banded together for community service, and led a debate at the City Parliament in Pietermaritzburg. The motion which he proposed, that "the right answer to Communism lies not in super-armament but in winning the battle for men's hearts and minds," was carried after a lively debate, which was reported in the local press.

CALL-UP DATES

Men born between 1st October and 31st December, 1934, are required to register for National Service on 6th September, and those born between 1st January and 31st March, 1935, on 6th December next.

Any young man who intends to register as a conscientious objector can obtain advice from the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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Open-air mtg
HYDE PARK:
Open-air mtg. S

Thurs
LONDON, W.C
St. Martin's, Open
and Robert Horn
Frida
CHELSEA: 8
Town Hall). Op

MALAYA

(Continued from page four)

shows clearly why the Malaysian Union and the British-proposed constitution have utterly failed in bringing about the hoped-for enthusiasm of the population.

The fact that the publisher of "Report on Malaya," the McDougall Trust, has as its secretary a well known pacifist lawyer may lead to a first impression that this report bears a pacifist bias. Such is emphatically not the case.

It is a completely objective survey of the present situation, to which neither personal opinion nor any form of recommendation is attached.

Two minor errors must however be pointed out. The Dutch girl left behind in Indonesia at the time of the Japanese occupation, whose subsequent marriage to a young Mohammedan teacher was pronounced invalid by the Singapore Court—thereby giving rise to riots and fierce resentment among Malaysians—was not Maria Hertogh but Bertha Hertogh; and there is no Colombo Plan but a Colombo Plan, which, incidentally, seems at the moment to be in a deplorably shrinking condition.

In view of Malaya's importance in the West v. Soviets struggle for the minds of men a correct appraisal of the problems and difficulties existing there is a sheer necessity for the would-be world thinker. This report, which is a model of conciseness and objectivity will help him.

ROY SHERWOOD.

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Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, July 25

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

Saturday, July 26

HIGH WYCOMBE: 3 p.m. Hughenden Manor. Area Garden Party. Rev. Patrick Higgins. For.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard, 6 Endsleigh St. Discussion on report for Steps to Peace Conference. Religion Commission. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard, 6 Endsleigh St. Summer Get-Together and Bring and Buy Sale. Bring goods and garden produce for stalls. Tea and refreshments. All members welcome. Adm. ls. London Area PPU.

READING: 3 p.m. Leighton Pk School. Morris Lester. Area Conf. For.

WEMBLEY: 3 p.m. Barham Pk (Near Wembley Town Underground). J. Hampden. Area garden mtg. Tea available. For.

Sunday, July 27

GLASGOW: 8 p.m. Miller St and Argyle St. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Speakers' Corner. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Monday, July 28

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square. "This Way Out," documentary sound film (starting war) American week-end work camps. WSP.

Thursday, July 31

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open air mtg. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

Friday, August 1

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PN at St. Ives

IT is remarkable that Miss Phyllis Bottome has the temerity to stand up for the banning of Peace News by the St. Ives Public Library. Does she realise the distinction of such names as Laurence Housman, Vera Brittain, Benjamin Britten, Michael Tippett and other equally thoughtful and humane members of the Peace Pledge Union?

But on the whole I think we may be encouraged by her attitude which regards Peace News as dangerous.

Miss Bottome quotes a friend, who said that "war is not nice, but war is nicer than the Nazis." Miss Bottome adds: "Are Stalin's gangsters better than Hitler's?"

What are we to infer from this? She appears to be at one with a lady who said to me, "We need another war to clear up this mess."

DOROTHEA PONSONBY OF
SHULBREDE

Infuriated!

I DO not doubt that many readers will leap to the defence of PN against Phyllis Bottome's charge that it is not worth reading. May I, one of your most critical readers, join them? As a pacifist I read PN regularly from cover to cover, passing it on when I have finished it. Generally a half or more of its contents make me writhe, gnash my teeth and fulminate against you, Sir, and your gallant staff.

I dislike your bland assumption that pacifists are *ipso facto* socialists or socialistic-inclined, that Tories are inherently bloodthirsty and that Liberals are extinct.

Your adulation of the predatory Welfare State which robs and reimburses indiscriminately, a palliative which ignores the causes of poverty and leaves privilege as deeply entrenched as ever, exasperates me.

I am infuriated by your enthusiasm for Point 4, Colombo and World Mutual Aid Plans which, whatever their intention, impoverish Westerners to enrich still further the privileged in the Near, the Middle and the Far East. Your quiet and gentle occasional remonstrances against tariffs—the cause of so much poverty and international friction—anger me, while your apparent ignorance of the need, and of the method, to secure free and equal rights to land, if poverty and hunger, Communism and racialism are to be defeated, make me despair.

The quaint economies and money-crankism to be found in some of your issues sorely try my pacific patience!

Despite these imperfections I find Peace News "worth reading." For instance, the attention you are focussing at present on Lord Alexander's "Korea a rehearsal" statement is a valuable public service which few, if any other papers, are rendering. The life-blood of democracy is the printers' ink used by minority papers, and any journal which has the courage and tolerance to publish a letter so critical of its policy as this one is deserves the widest support of all who treasure the freedom of the press.

P. R. STUBBINGS,

388, Finchley Road,
London, N.W.2.

Loyal to America, but...

IF, in these days when to our mind my country is making so many and such infinitely costly mistakes in her foreign policy, you care to use this letter, I shall indeed be grateful. For Peace News is very dear to me, not alone because of the inspiration its high courage gives, but because it carries nostalgic echoes of those happier days when I met Dick Sheppard, and rejoiced in his friendship.

Keep up your so justified criticism of us on this side of the Atlantic! Help preserve us from the terrible folly that pushes us all ever closer to the ultimate abyss! Countless Americans, deeply loyal to their country even while bitterly opposed to its present policy, will thank God for all you do to aid us to that warless world which has been my own lodestar since 1914.

(Miss) TRACY D. MYGATT,

"Little Devon,"

Croton Falls, New York, U.S.A.

Against the napalm bomb

THOUGH I was not asked to give my signature to the protest against the use of the Napalm Bomb, signed by Lord Boyd Orr and others, I would be glad to have my name added to the list of those who have already protested.

On the question of germ warfare: No inquiry is impartial which does not allow evidence to be given by the accused as well as by the defendants; and if that is refused, they have a perfect right to boycott the inquiry.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN,

Longmeadow,

Street, Somerset.

The Dean and China

LAST week's PN paragraph entitled "Canterbury Tales" does little credit to your paper as a fair-minded reporting agency. It almost breathes the same atmosphere of prejudice springing from personal antipathy as do the comments in the New Statesman and Nation.

Far from the Dean of Canterbury making the Germ Warfare charges the "main subject of his report," it was one-tenth. The other nine-tenths—completely ignored by the daily papers in deference to their owners' bias—concerned the great measures of construction and improvement all over China.

The germ warfare charges were the subject of an appeal, signed by hundreds of Church leaders, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Free Churches, from different parts of China, including the evidence of eye witnesses and British-trained Chinese scientists. This Chinese document bears also an English translation. The Dean was asked to bring it back with him.

It seems tragic that the Archbishop of Canterbury should seem to show little or no interest in the statements and appeals of Chinese bishops of his own commission, except to imply that they are all liars so far as this charge against American militarism is concerned—or liars under duress.

If you could publish Hansard for July 15 in your useful paper, your readers would realise the depths of the animosity against

Up and Doing

SNOW IN JULY

IS the heatwave be-moithering PN staff? Ice-swathed brows and constant long drinks to get out our weekly paper? Why no, we are as cool as Christmas, surrounded by Christmas scenes, and positively oozing Peace and Goodwill (as is usual, of course!).

In other words we are in the final stages of producing your 1952 range of Endsleigh CHRISTMAS CARDS. Any day we shall be donning our snowboots to visit London's leading stores and religious bookshops, and are in no doubts about collecting some very nice orders for the paper's premier fund raisers.

Readers are getting busy in Birmingham, Glasgow, Sheffield and Gloucester too, visiting the shops, especially to sell Endsleigh "Painting Cards." There is no serious trade competition for this series of outline designs for colouring with paints or crayons. This year's packet of "Christmas Carols of All Lands" will attract teachers and parents for expression work, and delight many a grown-up too.

In six months the Peace News Fund has only raised one sixth of last year's total. Christmas Cards sales must break all records if we are to cover the heavy publishing losses on the paper. Everyone can help a little later on buying and selling the very attractive selection we have in store.

And at this very moment it is most urgent to have as many readers as possible acting as salesmen to the trade. Groups can have a commission for their funds on all trade orders obtained. Samples, showcards and full details will be sent to everyone willing to help in this way. Anybody can do this, please inundate us with offers. H.F.M.

Circulation last week, 11,900 copies.

a clergyman who tells the truth as far as it is given to him by the people on the spot.

(Rev.) R. MERCER WILSON,

Church of St. George the Martyr,
Queen Square, W.C.1.

The Rev. Mercer Wilson's comments regarding the attitude of the Archbishop of Canterbury to leaders of the Church in China may be justified. For ourselves, the comments of the Dean are open to the same objection as those of Mr. D. N. Pritt, Mr. J. Gaster, and various spokesmen of the World Peace Council. We are asked to accept them in place of the findings of an impartial enquiry. The Chinese Government may be justified in rejecting the proposal that the International Red Cross should appoint a commission of enquiry composed of scientists from countries not engaged in hostilities; they are not justified in so doing however, without making other proposals for examination of the charges that are possible of general acceptance.—Ed.

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DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.
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PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day-time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, Stationers, Finsbury Park, N.4).

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The Government and CD

WERE EMPTY BENCHES MEASURE OF MPs' INTEREST?

THE Home Secretary's speech in the House of Commons last Friday was meant to rouse public interest in the question of Civil Defence. Judging from the speed with which it appeared in the evening papers it looked as if there had been a hand out to the Press in advance.

But in the House of Commons Sir David Maxwell Fyfe was speaking for most of his time to empty benches.

There were less than twenty members there during the morning and when I called for a count (forty members are required to make up a quorum) a number of members, rushed to the Chamber, were counted. The mobile column disappeared again and Sir David continued his oration to a mere handful.

We had heard about the apathy and complacency of the British public but it was surely nothing like that which prevailed in Westminster when the question of how the nation could be defended against atom bomb attack was under discussion.

Little money for Civil Defence

One very remarkable feature of the debate was that nobody from the Government Front Bench spoke at the end to answer the questions and criticisms that followed Sir David Maxwell Fyfe's statement. True it was a private member's motion, but some damaging attacks had been made on Government policy and the Under Secretary for the Home Office had been taking notes during the debate.

Nobody made any real attempt to explain why, if the Government were so keen on Civil Defence, it had refused to give grants to local authorities for the air raid shelters which will be so badly needed if another war comes.

There is steel for tanks for the army, for new frigates for the Navy, for the aircraft industry but not for the protection of civil population.

At the same time there was a special conference in London discussing what would happen if an atom bomb were dropped at Clapham.

The figures are quoted elsewhere in Peace News. To mention only one of them, 200,000 people would be fleeing on the roads.

Supposing ten atom bombs were dropped in various parts of Britain in a night or in a week. If ten great industrial centres would have the same experience as Clapham that would mean 2,000,000 people out on the roads of Britain as refugees.

The Conference worked on the assumption that the atom bomb would be dropped in a year's time.

In this case why is the Government not giving financial assistance or any steel for air raid shelters?

Is this the way to treat their own Civil Defence preparations? The plain fact is of course that, as a result of Britain being turned into an atom bomb base for the American Air Force, the risk of atom bomb attack from Russia has enormously increased.

Government lukewarm too

When we are engaged on a three years Defence Programme which is to cost about £5,000,000,000 only £14,195,360 this year is being devoted to Civil Defence preparations.

When Mr. Henry Brooke, Tory MP for

Hampstead and a member of the London County Council Civil Defence Committee, came to speak he was as critical of the way the Government was handling things as we were.

According to Mr. Brooke the London County Council have been in communication for months with the appropriate Government department about the training of instructors for the ambulance section. There is a difference of opinion about instructors' fees. The local authorities were told in March of this year that a revised circular would be issued shortly covering the point. It has not been received yet.

A delay of two years

Mr. Brooke proceeded to give example after example of Home Office delay. This was his final one:

"The local authorities have been in consultation with Government Departments since the summer of 1950 about the grant regulations which will determine precisely the application of Government grants for CD. There were discussions in September, 1950, and an alternative scheme intended to meet the objections of the local authorities was circulated by the Government nine months later, in June, 1951.

"A further meeting with the local authorities was held at the end of July, 1951, when various points were put by the local authorities for further Government consideration. To the best of my knowledge the question is not settled yet. There is an example where, over a period of more than two years and under two separate Governments, local authorities have been unable to obtain precise decisions as to the rate of grant they will receive on various services."

This is how the Government handles CD when everybody knows that in the event of war the problem of the civilian population would be the most serious that would have to be faced.

This year we are spending these sums on the Fighting Services:

	£ million
Admiralty	332.3
War Office	491.5
Air Ministry	437.6
Ministry of Supply	98.5
Ministry of Defence	17.3
Total	£1,377.2

But we can only afford £14,195,360, about one hundredth of this huge sum, for Civil Defence!

DOCTORS AND NAPALM

(Continued from page one)

not been used in World War II; pigs and goats were at present being subject to experiments for the development of flame throwers; the H-bomb was in course of development. All these weapons caused burns.

At present there were only two Burn Centres in this country, at Birmingham and Glasgow, but the Ministry of Health had in recent weeks circulated instructions for the setting up of others. We know that the atom bomb has burnt all things combustible within two to three miles; it was estimated that the H-bomb would burn to death everybody within 25 miles.

Frightening problems

The burns that these modern weapons will cause will be extensive, he said. They will kill effectively, even though there may be a delay of two to three weeks.

Working in ideal conditions, with a fully-trained team they considered themselves lucky if a patient with a 50 per cent body burn was restored to health. But the average body-burn resulting from these weapons was 60, 70 or 80 per cent. Added to the problem of finding skin for grafting (for only in the case of identical twins could skin be grafted from one patient to another), there would be the search for drugs, dressings, and high caloric foods—all frightening problems.

Amid applause he added "These weapons should be banned forthwith. Napalm has been used in the name of the United Nations. Surely that was not the purpose for which the United Nations was set up. Germ warfare—"no absolute proof"

Speaking of bacteriological warfare, Dr. J. H. Humphrey said it was not a weapon of which any nation could be proud.

In regard to its alleged use in Korea, a joint committee of Science for Peace and the Medical Association for the Prevention of War had been set up to examine the evidence produced. It was true that there was no absolute proof: he doubted whether there ever could be.

The methods alleged to have been used bore the stamp of those first tried out by the Japanese and gave little evidence of the research being carried out in America. It was amateurish and surprisingly ineffective.

Though questions from the floor were mainly concerned with bacteriological warfare many must have echoed Reginald Thompson's final remark:

"We are burning people alive in Korea. Surely there is enough going on that we know about to make us take determined action."

ATOMIC DEFENCE EYEWASH

In the last war the boggy held out to us was mustard gas; now it is the atom bomb... one of the contributory factors which caused a gas attack never to develop was that it was obvious that the country had taken steps to prepare against such an attack... the civil population were issued with gas masks... and when the war subsequently developed all were to be seen walking about with gas masks... I always think that the vision of a woman... clutching a small cardboard box must have been most depressing to any enemy agent and must have been a contributory factor in his advice not to use gas... Thus passed the terror of the gas attack.

—Geoffrey Wilson, M.P., Civil Defence Debate, July 18, 1952.

It is impossible except at prohibitive expense, to provide any form of shelter that will give full protection in the area immediately below the atomic burst.

—Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, Home Secretary, Civil Defence Debate, July 18, 1952

THE recent debate on recruitment for civil defence seems to call for the quick pen of a Sagittarius or a Yaffle, an Orwell or a Swift, to destroy its arguments by ridicule, for if it were not so dangerous and so tragic, it would indeed be overwhelmingly funny.

That it should be seriously stated by the mover of an important motion in the House of Commons, that the German High Command may have been deterred from using gas because spies were able to report that all British citizens carried little cardboard boxes which would give them adequate protection against mustard gas, is almost beyond credence.

Mr. Geoffrey Wilson is perhaps too young to know that mustard gas was used in the first world war, and in 1938 was as out of date as the "dum-dum" bullet is today. By then, far more destructive forms of gas had been invented, and were known to have been manufactured in this country, which knowledge caused the British Government to supply complete asbestos suits of clothing for those who were detailed to work in decontamination centres.

Moreover every serviceman, policeman and warden possessed an entirely different type of gas mask from the civilian one, from which fact any intelligent enemy agent could have made his own deduction as to its usefulness. To suggest that Hitler did not attack with gas because of those sordid, stupid, futile little cardboard boxes is as grotesque as it is false.

*

It is no more credible that the man who ordered Jews to be put to death in gas chambers, and countenanced Buchenwald and Dachau would balk at the use of gas because of those worthless little boxes, than it is to be believed that those who first used the atom bomb, with its dreadful destructive power and its after effects of deadly disease, would have hesitated to use gas because they knew the Germans had a superior type of gas mask.

The implication of Mr. Wilson's argument is that if this country is known to be prepared against atomic attacks the bomb will not be used, yet the knowledge that German towns had deep steel shelters did not deter the obliteration bombing of those towns.

Certainly it is true that the USA took care to drop the first atom bomb where there was no preparation, and also when there was no likelihood of retaliation in kind, but since that dreadful decision has brought its own retribution and we are now forced to discuss how to defend ourselves against our own devilry, it might be as well to face facts and not frivol with fantasies.

The Home Office have recently assessed the possible damage to public services if one

bomb fell on Clapham Junction. They estimate that about 16,000 people would be killed, 18,000 houses destroyed entirely, and 23,500 seriously damaged; some 90,000 of a possible 200,000 refugees from the area would be wounded and in need of hospital help.

This may or may not be a true estimate, but it cannot be ignored, especially as the Home Secretary has let slip the truth and stated categorically that there is no adequate shelter against the actual burst of the bomb. The price may well be prohibitive, but that can hardly be offered as a good reason while the Government is prepared to spend as much as £50 million on the manufacture of one bomb. The fact is that Governments very well know that there is no defence and they put their faith in attack. The rest is so much eyewash to prevent, not war, but panic.

There is only one sure defence against the atom bomb and that is to abandon the method of war; there is no other way and it is also the way to peace.

WAR ON WANT

(Continued from page one)

part and take the lead in the one considerable hope for a tolerable world future."

Mr. Victor Gollancz appealed for more imagination in seeing victims of famine as individuals rather than masses. We had recently been made aware of the horrible effects of napalm bombing in Korea, but starvation might bring even greater suffering.

"I have seen it in Germany," he said, "and there is nothing more terrible than slow starvation."

There was already widespread starvation in Ceylon, and this kind of thing would go on happening until a world food reserve was built up. Such a proposal by the Food and Agricultural Organisation had been defeated in the UN mainly through opposition from Britain and Canada.

Mr. Gollancz saw no hope of leadership in the campaign for War on Want from either the Church or the big political parties. It would only grow through the efforts of ordinary people in their everyday lives.

"After more than 40 years of having about it," he said, "in the last few months I have found myself quite definitely and finally a pacifist. I want to declare this publicly." His statement was loudly applauded.

"You will do no good in this campaign against world hunger," he concluded, "unless you do the same kind of thing in the whole of the rest of your life, whatever the consequences. We shall not get anywhere unless there is a tremendous change inside each one of us, because the whole thing is all of a piece."



THE ARGUMENT CONTINUES

Arising out of the remarks made at the Annual General Meeting of the St. Pancras Building Society, an extract from which was published on June 13 and 27, some further observations appear pertinent.

Re-armament is an extravagant waste of production. The energy it costs could be put to more profitable use for the benefit of the human race. We, however, concede to those supporters of the right use of force (i.e. to restrain the anarchists in order to maintain law and order in a true democracy) that some amount of collective security may be essential as an insurance against the risk. Likewise we insure against the consequence of fire, burglary or other accidents, but who would over insure? It would not be honest or prudent. Excessive expenditure on armaments cannot be justified even while we wait for the cure, a change of heart.

Similarly, in the sphere of personal finance it is commonsense to set aside what one can for security against the inevitable rainy day; but the saving should not be overdone lest the present be imperilled for the sake of the future. The happy medium, the wise balancing of to-day's certain needs against to-morrow's possible hazards, is the ideal.

There is no simpler or safer way of making provision for the unknown future than to save with St. Pancras Building Society. The Society now pays interest at 2½ per cent, free of income tax, and all its shares are withdrawable in full, with no attendant expenditure.

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Managing Director: ERIC BALES

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
20 Bride Lane, E.C.4.

Labour and the USA

(Continued from page one)

the United Kingdom and the United States of America has led to the almost complete loss of any British initiative in international affairs."

There are other resolutions that express a similar concern and in a number of cases the desire is expressed that Britain should seek to act as a mediating influence for creating conditions that may make possible the peaceful co-existence of Communist and non-Communist states.

There are nine resolutions under the heading of "Mutual Aid" dealing with the need for helping the development of the under-developed countries. The issue is also frequently raised in many other resolutions.

There are 14 resolutions dealing with the rearmament programme, all, with two or three exceptions, calling for its scaling down.

Edinburgh Central is an outstanding exception, for without qualification it declares that the Conference should accept responsibility for a British contribution to rearmament in order to give full support to the United Nations.

Eight resolutions declare that no proposals for Central African Federation shall be implemented without full support by the African population, and there are many resolutions directed against racial discrimination.

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